2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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572 357 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-West Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on the veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescuer, performing various menial services, and in general considering themselves part of the family. Here and there such people still offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or are saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather than as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they are never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, although they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompany their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in general must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domestic matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fire, and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daughter of the house does not herself do so.

463 465 These family servants, /gun, are to be distinguished from the /gaiun, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arranged payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the time of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specified, and usually they remain with their employer for life, although they cannot be kept from departing when they wish. Their children are free, but usually also remain as servants in the same family.

[357]

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Nowadays origin of name cow

is generally given a name of Dutch origin, to which it often answers; formerly cattle were designated rather according to their colour or physical development. Schultze records nineteen such terms in use among the Naman for horned cattle, six for goats, and three for sheep.[1]

Cattle may be acquired in several different ways. Every child in a wealthy family may have some animals set aside for it soon after birth, and a portion is usually given at marriage, both to sons and to daughters, while a man's herds are also divided after his death among his heirs. Cattle may further be acquired by means of barter with such objects as milk pots and weapons, and in recent times also European trade goods. Wandres mentions the case of a wealthy cattle-owner known to him among the Bondelswarts, who laid the foundations of his prosperity by the manufacture of wooden milk pails which he bartered for cattle. We know also that cattle-raiding, both among the Hottentots themselves and on other peoples, such as the Ova-Herero, was a common practice in the past, but we have no definite record as to how cattle obtained in this way were divided.

Service with Europeans in order to obtain the means of purchasing cattle was common already in Kolb's time, and is possibly the principal method employed nowadays. Another common method, in use among the Hottentots themselves, is the herding of another man's cattle in return for part of the increase. A wealthy cattle-owner will place some of his stock under the care of an impoverished tribesman, allowing him to use the milk for his own nourishment and to claim half the increase. With good management a herdsman can in a few years acquire quite a respectable herd of his own in this way. Even young boys will hire their services to cattle-owners, receiving at first an annual payment of one or more sheep or goats, according to the size of the herds under their care, and acquiring later the right to half of the increase. A good herdsman generally remains with his master for life, even although he has accumulated some stock of his own. This is looked after by his children or his relatives, while he himself becomes the chief herdsman of his master.[2]

The milk of their cows is the staple article of diet with the Hottentots. The milking is done by the women and girls, and only

[1] Op. cit., 464-7.
[2] Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 477-8; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, ii. 9; Theal, *Ethnography*, 40.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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To what extent specialization enters into these various pursuits is difficult to say. Smithing, an occupation usually associated with specialized activity, does not appear to have been confined to recognized practitioners; at least, there is no record of special smiths among the Hottentots themselves. And there is no mention either of people devoting themselves exclusively to other forms of industry. Olpp indeed states that the Hottentots have little respect for industrial activity as a whole, and that an artisan in their eyes is little better than a slave (*khowab*). The people are primarily herdsmen, and cattle is the main objective in their lives.[1]

Trade

At the same time it is certain that some persons are better craftsmen than others, and that they can dispose of their products by barter. We have already noted an instance of this in Wanderer's Bondelswart friend, who accumulated a respectable herd of cattle in exchange for the milk pails he made. In other cases, as we have seen, weapons and milk pots may be bartered for cattle, and even beasts of one colour exchanged for those of another. There appears therefore to be a good deal of internal trade among the Naman, but we have little concrete information as to the nature and extent of this trade. Kolb noted it among the Cape Hottentots also. An impoverished man, he says, will make an extra set of weapons and exchange them with a wealthy cattle-owner for two or three head of cattle. Tobacco, dagga, beads, and similar objects obtained in the service of Europeans are also bartered for cattle, and as a last resort there is a certain root called *kanna*, used as a stimulant, which is always in demand and can readily be disposed of.[2] All this bartering, however, is merely incidental to the ordinary activities of the people. It appears almost certain that craftsmen devoting themselves exclusively to the continuous manufacture of special objects for barter do not exist among the Hottentots.

There was also a certain amount of trading between the Naman and the Bantu tribes to their north and east. In the eighteenth century the Naman living along the lower reaches of the Orange River are described as receiving annual trading visits from the BeChwana. The latter crossed the intervening desert tracts during the rainy season, bringing with them such things as tobacco, ivory spoons and armlets, copper beads, rings and bracelets, iron beads,

[1] *Anglo Papuans*, 27. [2] Op. cit., 119-20.

415 The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women,
177 which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains.
303 In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

415 The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long
302 as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

412 As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use,
276 but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco
411 pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of
177 serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Namas are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

463 3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make
283 cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are
326 used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin
177 but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares.
600 The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in kine and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed. 136 231

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil. 135 137

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle. 134 000

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake. 132 241

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Thessalian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and 461 463 177

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000 Juvare: drapetas, erumnas fugitivosque tam liberos quam servos reprehendunt, retrahunt, domumque ope praesidii reducunt. Bajuli, carbonides, gerulí, angari, hemerodromi Belendi: lignarii, fornacarii, lixae, pamphilaones, vindemiatoresque et in calcatorio torcularii seduli: silvestrem agrum extirpant, stapidatamque partim, ligone aut bipalio fodiunt, mancupoque buri sine lassamento admovent, semenique faciunt, terram rastris bumeriantur, devocant, lirant crallantque: irpicibus dirumpunt, eruncantque ex agro, vinea hortoque herbas, magnamque in messe quam demetunt operam indefessi praestant, capite hodera convolvulumque redimito, quo sertorantium radiorum solarium rigorem corymbiferi infringant, diuvenque te hercharitium agmen videre, per omnia Africa nostris similimum, nisi quod IIII(s) dextrâ poculum vibrantes, vino madeant, dum hi una manu fistulam altera culmos lenentes mensores, aratores, evannatoresque acriter deosculant.

Horum mulieres filiaeque non infideles lotrices, nec gerariae indiligentes: pultibus omniaque vasa coquinaria olunt, aerdemque everrere et aerrire, faenumque ex agris undecumque colligere, focum accendere, coquinae apprimè norunt, Balaeris parvo famulae.

Palam est quod sine horum Deorum opera, aerius colonî nostri libet fortissimi agris laboribusque suis ingemiscerent: sed proh dolor! omnia felicitate (si sanctet) torpescentes, tanquam Salmacidis spolia, sine sudore aut labore partis, enervantur molli.

Num ingratum tibi, nec alis re fore arbitror si narravero mei vitâque Afram, cui pro diurno labore in gabela à quodam Belga annuntia dabantur, quae laeta haud aliter quam pigrae gallinae pullos convocat, suos cantilenate populares, ab capterum tanquam in diribitorio diargitur, vix tuscillam sibi servans, hanque benevolâ commendatione promerae gaudent omnes, ita ut tubicine stentorei acrevocus ab ore ad os omnium occurrentium perambulet, donec in fumum et cinerem laborem convertunt sit. A Barbaris certare beneficiis Christiani discant.

Rigentibus terrae cruribi fontes, rivuli, amnesque lingvâdulcori salubervitaque non desiderantur, quorum lucrebillis pallentibus et dulcedo sanguine dilim mihi adeo est provocavit ast auxit, ut distemo me sub Jovisbenalis signis certaminae lustrationis militare.

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461 463 177 (*) An excellent, if rather eulogistic, description of the way in which the Hottentots were being employed as servants by the European farmers. Most of the domestic labour, of course, was done by imported slaves, but many of the farmers already had Hottentots as well (cf. e.g., *The Diary of Adam Tas*, passim).

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deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, postboys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy charwomen. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.[1])

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, our farmers, short fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth, and many are enervated as if by the spells of Calypso, even without toil or sweat.

It will not have you, I think, and it will be a pregnant, if I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in return for a day's labour had been given some scraps in a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling her people together and making a regular distribution of her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.[2]) Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible clearness and sweetness of which has often so ennobled or increased my thirst that you would have declared me to be a soldier of Jerubaal at the last testing.[3])

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[1]) See above, p. 45.
[2]) Judges, 7, 44.